# PRESBYTERIAN LIFE



PURLOING FIRST USED
FOR WORBHIP BY
THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH IN PYENBYANG



January 20, 1951

Korea: Operation Heartbreak (see page 8)

Vol. 4, No. 2

Can The Presbyterians Get Together Again? By Ralph W. Lloyd

Vishinsky Views Religion

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2.	Lee, Mu-Oh	5		g 4	Kim, Chang-Kuk 4
3.	Lee, Seng-In	3	28. 7	7	Yoo, Ik-Kum 6
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5. 村 儿 元	Kim, Hyung-Sook	5	30,107	- 1	Park. IN-Kyu
6. 社 号 号	Bak, Ung-Soo	4	3/ 17	2/2/	Pak. Char-Kee
7. 当 4 分	Ewak, Sung-Soo	4	33 2	ちずま	Chung Kwailig-Duky
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11.	Kim, Jai-Wha	7			
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### CHRISTIAN EVACUATION LIST

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4.	Chang	1	30.	0)	H .	当	Lee, Bong-Hak	1
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	Lee, Sang-Yong	5						
10.	Kim, Jung-Ja	4						
11.	Kim, Chong-Kum	5						
12.	Kang, Kwang-Bom	5						
13. 3 5 T	Chang, Dong-Kuk	3						
14.	Choi, Tak-Keo	4						
	Ki, Joo-Shin	4						
16.	Kim, Iss-To	4						
17.	Kim, Toc-Yung	4						
18.	Kim, Ice-Chul	1						
19.	Lee, Sun-Duk	5						
20/	Ke. Jung-Shik	4						
21.	Kim, Scen-Yong	1						
22.	Joo, Ge-Myung	1						
23.	Choi, Chi-Hyun	3					to the	
24.	ChungySun-Ok	1						
25.	Kim, Hong-Bon	2						
26.	Cho, Choong-Won	4						

### CHRISTIAN EVACUATION LIST

Dinne	ups and others	(continued)		(As of 1950/12/29)
31.	712 2 21	Kim, Hong-Jin	7	58. 1/2 15 17 Kim, San -Chai 6
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34.	社 对 三	Ham, Chung-Do	4	61. 21 1 5 Chang, Too-Oks 7
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36.	관키독	Kwon, Tai-Ok	3	63. 1 3 Yes, Chance 6
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38.	对任件	Chun, Soon-Shik	4	65. 11 7) Al Chang, Ree-Ucm 6
39.	利利有	Choi, Che-Kook	9	66. W Pak, Moon-Joon 6
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44.	祖对有	Kim, Chung-Sook	3	7/ 0/ 2 3/ YEE, SOON-KEL 2
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46.	이창병	Yee, Chang-Bin	9	
47.	刘松宁	Chei, Sung-Soo	7	
48.	실기장에	Shim, Kyung-Ai	2	
49.	ゼニチ	Kim, Do-Soo	6	
50.	祖县村	Kim, Yong-Suk	4	
51.	강덕분	Chang, Duk-Kyum	5	
52.	김계식	Kim, Chai-Shin	4	
53.	7년 타기수	Kim, Tai-Soo	6	
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Taegu Station, like Macedonia of old, has been calling and praying these past three years for someone to come over and help. (ur prayers were twice answered within the past six months in the arrival of our two new missionary couples, Fr. and Frs. Earle J. Toodberry, who after years of service in China, have come to Morea; and Dr. and Mrs. Robert F. Rice are new life recruits. But let us hear what they have to say, and learn how quickly and easily the Woodberrys , who are "old hands" in missionary work, have responded to this call for " Before we had our bags unpacked, we picked them up and journeyed to Seoul to join in a spiritual retreat with the majority of the missionaries of Korea... This was a beautiful way in which to begin our ministry here in Korea. Trs. Woodberry adds, " I have been giving most of my time to the Sin Myang High School for girls, with an enrollment of 800. I have had six classes every week with about 60 in each class, for English Bible. On Sundays I have had a class of about 55 first year girls from non-Christian homes. Three afternoons a week I meet with the second year students at the Bible Institute for straight English. One afternoon I have given to the whole student body of the Bible Institute an hour of music instruction. During the special class for Bible women I have had a similar class with them. One night a week I have had two very interesting and inspiring groups of young men in a Christian night school. Among other activities I have given missionary talks, chapel talks, solos, piano playing for special revival services, etc. Mr. Woodberry has been equally busy teaching English Bible- ? classes of 60 each at the Keisung Boys' High School of 1200 students, several classes for the High School teachers, classes for doctors and nurses in the Fresbyterian Hospital and the Government Hospital and Medical College, Sunday preaching, a Sunday morning Bible class, chapel talks, etc. keep the time more than full.

The very newest missionaries are only a month old in the station life but they are not idle either. Thile language study is their principal occupation at present, there have been opportunities for witnessing, not only through their music, for they have learned a few songs in Korean, but by means of the Gospel truck. "Small children can be heard saying aloud the familiar characters written on the sides and back of the truck- ' Jesus saves', 'God is light'-love, Korea unto Christ.' The first Sunday in June the Gospel truck did its first itinerating in the country to a village which had been raided by communists six months ago. Since the massacre of 36 young men of the village, the church at Paksa has trebled its membership. following Sunday the truck also went to a small, clean and orderly church where there were neither pastor nor ordained elders, at a standstill in growth. This Sabbath the church was decorated with flowers and Christian banners, it being Flower or Childrens' Day. The four hours worship that morning and afternoon was a spiritual blessing.

But not only the newest missionaries hear the call to "Come over into Macedonia." The call exists for the veteran missionary as well. Let Miss Bergman, our oldest missionary in point of service in Taegu tell of her experiences. "When I first came back three years ago. I made a survey of all the land yet to be possessed in this province, and made a map, showing the unevangelized areas in black while those already reached were in white. During the fitst part of 1949 the Lord so burdened my heart that I could not contain myself and I was moved to take time off from my Bible Institute teaching to go into the country to help in forward evangelistic work. At my request, Pastor Ko suggested the area he considered the most needy, which proved to be a village belonging to the Syung clan, one of the most

noted of the gen leman class of Korea. A Fible woman was sent ahead to prepare the way for us - myself, the Bible woman and a Bible School graduate to work with the children. Going into this willage without a man evangelist seemed unconventional but it proved to be the wisest course. On the second day our host was reprimended by the village elder and commanded to send us away, but the Lord undertook and we were enabled to stay eight days giving out the Gospel from house to house during the day and holding public services in the courtyard at night. Thirty five new born babes in Christ met to worship together on the last Sunday. Just as the meeting was being dismissed, one of the "fathers" of the village appeared in the gateway with a large cane in his hand and remarked, "You three women have done more in this village in these eight days than Confucianism has done in five hundred years." The approach for living quarters in another village was made with fear and trembling, but again the Lord undertook. Because the party consisted of three lone women, the head man invited us to stay at his house. We found an unusual hunger among the children for the Gospel and they learned to sing John 3:16. As we visited from village to village the song was echoed from every mountain side as the children gathered their fuel. On one of these trips we found an old lady of seventy who had built a stone altar in her courtyard to the spirit of the seven stars in the Great Dipper. For 17 years she had been offering, late overy evening, a bowl of clear water from the well, to this spirit. But at the time of our visit she was analy with the spirit because of the death of ner son and grandson. The first time Christ was presented to her, she said, "This is just the spirit I've been yearning For"- and she accepted Christ with all her heart.

... During the past year these little church units, and many more beside, have grown and become established in the Lord. "We are grateful that the home Board has seen fit to grant another year of service

To provide for this shortage, a special term Fible Institute has been held during May and June to train women to go out at once into the work. There was no training of workers during the war years and we are suffering from that as well as from the general breakdown of standards in all avenues of service. Training workers takes the time of several of our missionaries. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Lyon, in addition to being principals of Bible Institutes, one in Tae gu and the other in Myungju, maintain a teaching schedule - "just tenching," someone echoes - "but what could be more exacting, and at the same time rewarding, than tenching the contents of the most wonderful Book in the world." The young people stream in every term, most of them from country districts, from behind the plough and out from four mud walls, with the minimum of money, clothes a bag of rice and a conviction that God has sent them. Mrs. Henderson, who also gives full time to the Taegu Bible Institute, finds it discouraging when, as occasionally happens, one's students are indifferent to work; but when, after terms of study, they are inspired to as some personal digging - this is the teacher's triumph and joy, "and certainly is an effective way to multiply one's self in the effort to "possess the land" and witness for our Lord to the "uttermost parts." Churches and Sunday Schools may be started almost anywhere these days if only a man is sent out. The Bible Institutes provide the training for these workers. In the Kyungju B.I. two terms of the Lover School were held with an enrol/ment of 60, and the Higher Bible School began in the spring with twenty young people preparing for full time service. In Taegu, combined enrolment of the Higher and Lower Schools climbed to 325.

Miss Ross reports upon another avenue of service in Country Classes.
"This spring finds the countryside much more peaceful than during the winter. None of our country Bible Classes were called off because of the unrest as was the case a couple of times last year. Everywhere there are many eager to hear and accept His Gospel of salvation." She finds the D.V.B.S. with its children's classes and youth conferences, interested and instructed by the use of Flannelgraph lessons, effective wedges for moving "into the land." Mr. Campbell, too, has conducted 3 country classes this year and found that the interest in the study of the Word was as encouraging as ever and the number of those receiving Christ as their Saviour at the evening meetings as heart warming as ever before. Mr. Lyon has been using audio - visual aids also, in his evangelistic efforts, with very gratifying and encouraging results. With an elec-

tric generator, a movie projector and the "I Am the "ay" series, he had found it possible to conduct a satisfactory evening evangelistic service, with thousands reached every night. He rejorts. "I have held such services in villages where our gatherings were guarded by armed soldiers lest a communist raid occur. In another place we held our meetings just two days after the village had been burned and seven men killed. In several places where we had hoped to hold meetings indoors the crowd has been so great that we were forced to wait until other plans could be made."

Sometimes we must repossess the land and that has been the case with the two high schools, the one for boys and the one for girls. They were founded and conducted by the missionaries for many years and have finally been brought back under the jurisdiction of Prestytery during the past year. During the war they had been made government institutions and even "the smell of Christianity re...ved". Great progress has been made to bring them back to a Christian basis. It is heart warming to hear the hundreds of students singing Christian hymns. Bible is a required subject. Both schools have ordained pastors as chaplains. We are indeed thankful that Bob Pierce, Gil Dodds and Bob Finlay were led to come to Morea and lead evangelistic services. They gave their vigorous testimonies and led hundreds among the students of all Taegu to allegiance to our Lord. Because of a new ruling by the educational bureau the schools have had to reorganize on the basis of separate junior and senior high schools, bringing many problems, but charters have been secured in both instunces. We rejoice that whereas last term there were six Christian teachers in the girls' school, this term there are twelve.

Dr. Frank Laubach, in his literacy campaign in this area taught us new methods to use in "polsessing the land". His presence in our midst was an inspiration for which we praise the Lord. "e were all impressed with his personality and vital interest in the illiterates and the presentation of the Gospel message to these underprivileged.

Two of the younger members of the station, Dr. and Mrs. Moffett, still assigned to language study, report progress in same lines. Mrs. Moffett says: "By far the greatest part of my time since coming to vorea has been spent in trying to establish a routine for the house and in supervision to that end. Housekeeping, gardening, and looking after the family has taken most of the time. Settling the house stretched out into months, due to packing up to go to language school twice, unpacking again, and during this spring in making way for the plumbers, carpenters and electricians to work. We were indeed glad to get back to home base after camping out six months of last year. Indeed, those past seven months have been the nearest thing to normal living our small Charles has ever seen, being the first time in his three and a half years that he has been more than three consecutive months in the same house. During the winter Mrs. Campbell has been of inestimable help to my language study by taking young Howard's first grad off my hands. I have been able to give an hour every morning to study with a teacher and am glad for that. (Mrs. Campbell is also teaching three of the U.S.A. Army advisor's children as well as numerous English classes.) At Christmas time I tried giving a flannelgraph lesson to the small children at the refugee tent church, and found the experience very stimulating."

pr. Moffett did not have the privilege of language study this year, for the failure of Dr. Cmith and Dr. Love to return to Morea and the health furlough of Miss Laurence have necessitated his supervision and administration of the seventy-eight-bed general hospital as well as that of the loprosarium. As he expresses it, his remort for this year covers such things as "3395 blood counts, 70 gastric analyses, 24 doctors, a peach orchard, 900 leners, powdered milk, double-decker beds for nurses, the price of coal, an Y-ray therapy machine no one knows how to run, one-meal-a-day street urchins studying Bible and school subjects every night, the advantages and disadvantages of steam and hot water systems, the legal problems and entanglements connected with land tenure and purchase, pulling suicides out of wells and suspected communist employees out of jails, the purchase of cows, cars, furnaces, houses, and pingpong balls.

The general hospital has a large staff of Korean doctors—in fact too large for the number of beds, but almost necessarily so because of the departmentalized work carried on. Each of the departments of medicine, surgery, eye, ear—nose—and—throat, pediatrics, gynecology—obstetrics have a chief, some an assistant chief, and then at least one resident and an intern in training. Altogether there are nine doctors, thirteen residents and six internes. The work will be carried on much more efficiently and effectively, and better training will be given the staff when we have a replacement for the brand new dispensary building which burned down just before the war.

The evangelistic work. Lee Min Ung, the Bible woman, is a deeply spiritual and much loved worker and most faithful in her ministry. In the fall she was joined by a full time man evangelist. Before the war the hospital had a voluntary organization called the Preaching Society which was richly used in follow-up work among the patient converts. (Seventeen of Taegu's Presbyterian churches were begun by these hospital converts.) During the past year this Preaching Society was reorganized with almost all members of the staff and workers voluntary dues paying members. 473 decisions for Christ have been recorded through the hospital ministry during the year.

The Mursing School has had a good year in improved quarters. Due to plans for converting the present school building into the Public Health Unit the old hospital building is now being made into the school of nursing. The new dormitory is a pressing need.

"In the leprosarium, housing over 300 patients and an orrhanage of 40 healthy youngsters there is the prospect of a full time Morean doctor and a bacteriologist in residence. The government is anxious for us to take in another 200 patients and to that extent will provide the funds for additional dwelling units. We probably will do so this year. We are also in the process of planning for an enlargement of the chapel, a new dispensary building, and a tuberculosis unit. Patients have been voluntarily giving up one meal a week and using the savings for a fund to enlarge the chapel. Puring the missed meal hour those fasting go over to the chapel to pray."

All during this past year, and especially during the fall and winter there were disturbances throughout our whole area -- raids by communist guerrillas, who without sufficient food and clothing made attacks on the villages, more especially upon those villages where there has been someone who has informed upon them. Toud and clothing were taken, homes burned, and the young men of the village killed. In only one instance did they seem to single cut the vomen and children for murder. This has kept the whole province in a ferment which is just what the communists desire. We marvel at the calmness with which our Korean Christians have continued their appointed tasks. "ith so much suffering in so many areas, "rs. Lyon has been busy with the administration and distribution of relief. Food and clothing have gone to non-believers as well as believers where the need was greatest. In estimated 50,000 people have received some form of relief since Christmas and there are 17,000 more who were forced by the army to leave their homes in a scorched earth policy who should be receiving relief soon. The Foundling Home, the Home for the Aged, the orphanages, the Blind School and the lepers living in the cemetery and the tent village refugees have all been helped through material sent through Church World Service, and through individual packages sent by friends at home. When calls come for relief how often we wish for some kind of "video" that would enable the senders to see the gratitude of those who are helped.

We are most grateful, too, for the funds which have come from the facrificial Meal Mund. It has helped church workers, those in need of medical care, the lepers, and those who were hungry.

Then too, there is the Pestoration Fund which is being put to good use. A great deal of the time of both Mr. Campbell and Mr. Lyon has been given to the disbursement of those funds, in committee meetings deciding upon the use of them, and then in a follow-up check on the actual use. In the presbytery in which Taegu is located "fourteen million won was appropriated for the restoration of church buildings. This was divided among 102 churches, giving an average of 140,000 won, or fifty dollars gold to each one. Six evangelists were employed with the purpose of resurrecting churches that had disappeared during the war years. Twenty have already been brought back to life and in every case the present group is larger than before the war." reports Mr. Campbell.

In the Kyungdong Presbytery, where "r. Lyon administered the funds, in a presbytery about one fourth the size of the Taegu Presbytery, five million won have been spent on restoration of churches. Some of the buildings had been confiscated by the Japanese and demolished, others were forced to sell for almost nothing and unite with distant churches in an effort designed by the local Japanese officials to discredit the Christian church and religion. Other buildings were falling to pieces for lack of money and building materials. One interesting item is that the committee ruled that since church bells had been requisitioned by the Japanese and melted down for the iron during the war, they should be replaced. "I had we the pleasure of ordering an assortment of 45 large and medium-sized bells in one order, approximately half of our ninety churches had already provided themselves with a bell or its substitute. We feel that the welcome sound of a church bell in a Morean village is about

the best rehabilitation we could give them because it restores their confidence and prestige," Mr. Lyon writes. a locks watches

are few, it also tells time to getready for service - so mun later, the time for it wish. It might surprise some of our friends in America who can go to the corner grocery to do their shopping to realize how much of the precious commodity, Time, it takes to carry on a household here these days, to order food sumplies from California or Wongkong, both by parcel post and by freight, care for them after arrival and do the necessary accounts and correspondence involved. Then there are the multitudinous duties that press upon us with the constant stream of callers, from pastors coming for conferences about the work, evangelists and workers to be paid their salaries. workmen asking for materials in the "restoration" of our houses and churches, contractors to be paid, students with personal problems and varents or friends asking for our influence in getting their children into school, students asking for special drill in Finalish oratorical contests (and getting it), relatives interceding for members of their families afflicted with leprosy that they might find life in our leprosarium, the lame, the halt and the blind seeking help or comfort, those whom theives have dispossessed of their all, to the piano pubils, all would furnish excellent material for an account of "My Day". ""e rejoice in these contacts for there were years just before the war when our friends dared not come to see us. Now our homes are those with the "open door" --there isn't time to shut them between visitors. Through it all may we keep this prayer before us, entitled,

### THYSELF

"My Lord, I work for Thee from day to day
And serving Thee I find a holy bliss.
But this I pray....
Let'not the joy of service e'er replace
The heart's delight in Thy dear self. Thy face
Be still before me, unbedimmed
By lesser views of nicely trimmed
Poutine, mechanics of the task.
Success of blessing I may ask
From Thee, and Thou bestow -For this, O Lord, I pray."

Repura to H. a Phodes Ravens wood. W. Va FROM: Board of Foreign Missions of the GOOD PICTURES AVAILABLE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A. 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. Release Oct. 19, 1950 Algonquin 5-5000 or thereafter Elsie Thomas Culver, Press Relations You will be interested in these graphic accounts received from Edward Adams, Presbyterian (USA) Missionary, who has been in Korea ever since the invasion, bolstering the morale of Korean Christians and administering relief. まままままままま Seoul, Korea, October 2, 1950 REPORT ON SEOUL Back from Pusan with a truck load of powdered milk, clothes, flour and barley for Taegu. Now at Taegu airport. "Nothing scheduled but you might stick around". One hour later: "Plane leaving at a quarter to one". Flying weather was fine. The hour and a half run gave good visibility. Eight or ten places where mountains were smouldering. Mopping up operations of the U.N. Army! We circle Seoul. The Presbyterian compound looks O.K. from that distance. The large building west of Capitol in high flames (gasoline?) We land smoothly, taxi past burnt out hangars. Devastation everywhere. Main operations building unusable. An old Korean-style building being used. "How do we get into Seoul?" "There's nothing regular. You'll have to thumb your way in." An hour's wait. Much thumbing. A colored trooper comes by, says: "Better chance a mile down the road where several roads converge. I'll help you." Struggling under bed-roll, bag, brief-case, and two days of rations, we make it. Another long wait. A truck comes by filled with U.N. officials. They have occupied one of our residences in Taegu. Someone has spoken to the driver. The truck slows, comes to a halt and waits, while I try to run with baggage. Who was it that spoke to the driver? Charlie Coates, son-in-law of Sam Higginbottom. We had entertained him in our home before this "police action" broke loose. Signs of battle all the way in. Yundong-po not so badly damaged as anticipated. Church standing. After crossing the railroad we turn off the main highway, pass the small air-strip on the Han River flats, then cross the Han on a pontoon bridge. Destruction everywhere. As we get back on to main road, again signs of heavy fighting. -- Big guns and rifle fire. A streetcar standing. Trolley cables cut. Sandbag barricades across the street at intervals. Fox holes along the sidewalks. Someone said, "Adams! Where are you headed for? Better come with us." "All I know is I'm on my way, prepared to hole in anywhere." We head for barracks near Camp Sobbingo. Second cottage to right. "Major! Will you put a cot in our quarters for this gentleman?" A little later, "Everything is ready, sir." We go in. A cot, mattress, pillow, two sheets, two blankets!

Later - "Have you got room for me in that jeep?"

We head for the heart of town. Any building over two stories high gutted with fire. Half of them damaged by shell-fire, many lying flat.

The jeep has to dodge the wires hanging everywhere. Refugees coming and going, trying to locate their homes in the rubble. The railroad station is a skeleton. Severance clinic completely burned out. Isolation and laboratory buildings seem O.K. The city South Gate scarred but still standing. Can be repaired. Buildings all around shell-marked. Banto Hotel looks good from a distance. The Town Hall, one end burned. The capitol building - all in flames. Ceremonies were held there by MacArthur and the President, but something went wrong. What a shame!

"Would you be willing to drive back by way of our compound? That's awfully good of you!" The Koons' (missionaries) house looks very well from the road. Our house! There it stands. No holes in roof. Walls O.K.! The other houses flash by. No sign of large damage. The front gate is shut. Everything looks peaceful inside. How hard to refrain from asking for a stop, but it's six o'clock. I mustn't impose.

The Christian Literature Building gutted by fire. Y.M.C.A., also Bible House, caved in - roof and much of walls gone. "Home" again at Sobbingo. Early to bed. Ten fifteen - much rifle fire. Lots of underbrush around. Is it nervousness or the real thing? Off by seven thirty the next morning, walking this time. Severance Medical Center. Main ward building Severance Medical Center slightly damaged. Special ward building destroyed. Student nurses dorm: roof gone, windows smashed. Graduate nurses dorm: badly damaged. Four staff residences destroyed, everything looted. Library and books safe. The Chongno bell house is gone - bell on the ground. Metal is discolored from heat of the fire.

Bible House is still smoldering; C.L.S. (Christian Literature Society) front door is mostly metal and intact. Through the book room - nothing but ashes. So hot can hardly stand it. Up to second floor - again ashes. Third floor - ashes. Our office - ashes. Metal parts of furniture, doors, etc. dropped where they were. Floor gone. Glass in windows hanging like icicles. Plastering on walls and ceiling pealed. Fourth floor - ashes. Fifth floor - the heat had spent itself. Lumber and window frames for the broadcasting studio, still unfinished, lying about. (Broadcasting equipment had, fortunately, not reached Korea - held in Japan. - ed.) Roof intact but hit in two places by bombs or big gun fire.

We rush on to Yun Chi Dong - our compound. The eldest daughter of gate keeper bumps into me as I come in. She looks up, exclaims, calls to her mother. Other children come out. They begin crying. Later find the reason. The father was an opportunist - catered to the Reds. When liberation came he was shot - just two days ago.

Up the hill - half way to our house - some one spies me - the word spreads - they come from all directions, arms out - eager - hungry (literally). But where are our servants, Pak-Subang, Sim-Ssi? Some one calls. No answer. Yes, they are alive. Here comes Pak. What a bear hug! We try to catch up three months in three minutes. A cry! Someone has thrown herself at me weeping - with joy. It's Sim-Ssi, our faithful cook.

The servants have been in and out of Seoul several times as fortunes of war changed. Now, most are back in their homes. All servants quarters undamaged! A miracle! Three shell holes in our yard - the only ones on the whole compound. All glass gone on that side of the house. Ceiling jarred loose in many places. Otherwise house undamaged. A few upholstered furniture pieces left behind with all upholstering ripped off. An occasional table or bureau, but all drawers removed - the skeleton left.

The rest of the morning spent in inspecting the houses. All personal belongings gone! What use did Communists have for our theological libraries? No whole pieces of furniture. About 60% of windows intact. Furnaces, radiators, and plumbing all in apparent good condition. With the main part of the city lying in rubble, Korean homes all about the East gate flattened out, how grateful we should be!

The Yun Dong Church undamaged! Chungsin, the Girls School, not only undamaged but hardly any windows broken! Pilley Kim Choi's son and daughter came out. Teachers, students! No school sessions yet. Rev. Chun arrives. He spent much time in prison but was released. Prisoners were being shot at as they came out but he managed to get by between shootings. Many pastors and others imprisoned and not heard from since. Deacon Kim, our contractor, appears, will start looking for materials right away. Several rooms in each house could be made habitable by exchanging window panes, but how about food, water, light, transportation?

Over two hundred thousand won (1800 won = \$1. U.S.) goes out for back salaries of compound cooks, etc. Why didn't I bring more money? I must get back to Taegu and bring more. One who had eaten nothing today, because he was all out, was payed first.

Harold Voelkel, mission chaplain, now in the U.S. Army, arrived while we were talking. Horace G. Underwood is in town with the Army but has not gotten around to the compound yet. Bill Shaw, Jr., was killed two days ago in action. (All missionaries. -ed.) What a loss for us all.

"Sim-Ssi has a meal for us. Come on Harold." She has prepared an egg broth and a bowl of rice; also bean sprouts and sea weed. Where did she get it?

We walk over half the six miles back to camp. Happy reunions taking place everywhere. People shouting across the street to each other. People walking among the ashes. There is Rev. Insik Lee (elderly pastor from Pyengyang). How did he survive? "Hello, Ahn Mokso" - I am a Presbyterian Seminary student. There are about ten of us living up here in the dormitory. Come and see us." And so the Kaleidoscopic picture goes. More later.

Edward Adams.



1051

# KOREA

Today . . .

Yesterday . . .

and Tomorrow

KOREAN PACIFIC PRESS

Yesterday Korea was The Land of Morning Calm.

**Today** it is the devastated battleground where democracy stood courageously against the full horrors of communist attack.

Tomorrow, with our understanding and help,
Korea can arise from the ashes of its
burned out cities and ruined industries,
like the fabled phoenix bird of yore,
into a new day of freedom, enlightenment and progress.



UNATIONS

• Thirty million Koreans, inheritors of a culture stretching back over 4,000 years, inhabiting a peninsula of temperate elimate, majestie in its mountain ranges, beautiful in its fresh green rice-planted valleys, rich in mineral resources, laved by the waters of the sea — thirty million Koreans remember the great eivilization of yesterday, endure the "worst tragedy that has ever happened in Asia" today, and look ahead with unconquerable hope to development of a model democracy in the yet-unformed pattern of a long tomorrow.



UNATIONS

# Korean Child Refugee Questioned by UN Soldiers

Standing in the midst of her ruined village, with her baby brother clasped on her back, this Korean girl is questioned by United Nations soldiers. Where can she go? What will her future be? When and how will her village home again be rebulit? These are the questions to which she, her thirty million countrymen, and the U.N. must find answers. Ruin and desolation today — but what of tomorrow?

In KOREA the world-wide struggle between totalitarian communism and democratic freedom came into sharpest focus. Under the Red rule in northern Korea liberties were suppressed, property was seized by the State, young men were herded into the army, propaganda was substituted for education. To escape such a reign of oppression, over two millions of the ten million northern populace fled through the mountains, leaving behind them their property, their means of livelihood, their friends, and their ancestral homes to seek refuge in the south.

In the Republic of Korea encouraging progress was being made toward the creation of a progressive democracy. With the help of ECA aid, industrial and mineral production was increased by 92% from December, 1948, to December, 1949. Adult illiteracy was reduced by 60%. Food production increased to the extent that 100,000 tons of rice became available for export from the harvest of 1949.

Most significant of all, perhaps, was the way the farm tenantry problem was handled in the two areas. In northern Korea the seven per cent of the populace which formed the "capitalistic" class was liquidated. Farm renters became "tenants of the State," with no title to their land, and with taxes heavier than the old rental charges had been. In the Republic of Korea, a land reform bill was enacted and went into effect on June 1, 1950, which would have reduced farm tenancy to ten per cent of the population. Farmers were enabled to buy their land for 30% of the annual crop, payable for a period of five years. The landlords were paid in certificates which could be used to buy part of the industrial property formerly owned by Japanese.

The Communist attack on the Republic of Korea was launched

for two principal reasons:

First, because Korea is the strategic heartland of North Asia. With Korea in Communist hands, Japan would be outflanked and open to later attack. Moreover, with this bastion of democracy destroyed, Communist armies would have their rear safeguarded for attacks which could then be launched against Formosa and Indo-china.

Second, because the success of democracy in southern Korea gave direct proof of the falsity of Communist propaganda. The Communists have tried to convince the peoples of Asia that "American style capitalistic democracy" is a political instrument by which the rich controlled and exploited the poor; whereas the "people's democracy—Communism" is a political instrument by which the ruling classes are liquidated for the benefit of the poor.

This propaganda line was endangered by what was happening in Korea, where all of Asia's billion inhabitants could see that the Koreans were fleeing from the "people's paradise" of the north into the so-called "reactionary capitalism" of the south. The Communists tried for five years to destroy south Korean democracy by revolution from within, but failed to shake the loyalty of the people to their own chosen government. It was after this failure to stir up revolution and after the success of democracy in the Republic became evident that the calculated risk of an armed attack was undertaken.

The issues in Korea are basic in their simplicity: Shall a people be allowed to work out their own destiny in freedom, under a government of their own choice, open to United Nations observation and guidance, or shall the Communist Empire be allowed to conquer such a people and force it to accept totalitarian police rule behind another iron curtain? If aggression is to be stopped anywhere, it must be stopped everywhere. Thus the U.N. decided when it gave its support to defend the Republic of Korea against the Communist attack.

UNATIONS

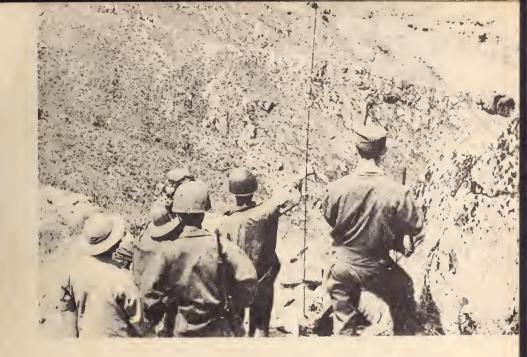


Headed south along "Refugee Trail," between Kumhae and Masan.





UNATIONS



### 38th Parallel Line

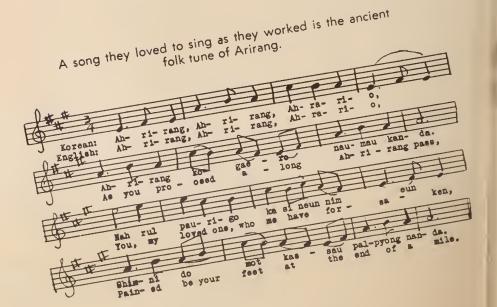
Through all of the long history of the Far East, it has generally been true that when Korea was fully independent, North Asia has been peaceful. When Korea has been dominated by one of its three powerful neighbors — Japan, China, and Siberian Russia — that same power has been able to dominate the entire area of Asia, down at least to the Himalaya Mountains. One striking modern instance of this historic fact is that after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 (following the Russo-Japanese War), Japan was able to move on to the conquest of Manchuria, the occupation of much of China, and the attack on Pearl Harbor and Southeast Asia.

Another instance arose from the unfortunate war-time agreement to divide Korea at the 38th parallel, admitting Russian military power into northern Korea. The rapid conquest of China by Communist forces and the attack against South Korea on June 25, 1950 followed. The United Nations has sought since November, 1947, to restore Korea as a united, independent, and democratic nation.

To Paul Hoffman, Korea is "a bastion of democracy in Asia." The late Sumner Welles expressed this judgment: "With the restoration of Korean independence, one of the great crimes of the Twentieth Century will have been rectified, and another stabilizing factor will have been added to the new international system which must be constructed in the Pacific."



Travelers to Korea in former years have often noted the beauty of the scenery, the serenity of the people, the fruitfulness of the land. These girls picking apples in the Taegu area symbolize the Korea that has been and that, after the devastation of the war is repaired, yet shall be again.



In VARIED mineral and coal deposits, and in hydro-electric power potential, Korea has all the resources except oil for extensive industrial development. Among its basic resources are coal, iron, gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, lithium, mica, nickel, barytes, molybdenum, magnesite, alum, shale, graphite, flourospar, kaolin and timber.

In 1939 Korea was third in the world in fisheries exports. Its 11,000 mile coastline, and the juncture of warm and cold currents along its coasts make it an ideal base for marine life. Its waters contain 75 kinds of edible fish, 20 kinds of edible shellfish, and 25 other

kinds of commercial sea animals and plants.

The cultivated portion of Korea is 11,034,342 acres (as of 1936) as compared with 14,907,973 acres in the almost twice as large area of Japan. Rice comprises 58.9 per cent of all crops. A frost-free period of 130 days in the northern interior, and 226 days in the southeast provides a long growing season, permitting for some land three harvests in one season.

Pupking Chemical Plant Where Carbon, Carbide and Nitogen Were Manufactured

U. S. Army Signal Corps.



Like OTHER nations, Korea will solve its economic problems only as it develops an industrial potential capable of producing a fair standard of living for all its people. Civilization has made its most notable advances as the machine has become the servant of man. Factories produce consumers goods and provide job-income from which to purchase them. With Korea's natural and human resources, it contains the basis for extensive industrialization from which to supply the needs of its own people and to export goods in sufficient quantities





Voting Booths

Under the auspices of the United Nations Korea entered into a new era of democratic government. The long stalemate in Russian-American negotiations over the future of Korea was broken on September 17, 1947, when the Korean question was accepted on the agenda of the United Nations. On November 14, 1947, the General Assembly voted to hold an election in all Korea. On May 10, 1948, an election was held in the area south of the 38th parallel (Russia having flatly refused to permit participation by the north) and 92 per cent of all adults poured out to vote under United Nations observation. Women exercised the ballot and actually out-numbered the men in the voting.

The Republic of Korea was formally inaugurated on August 15, 1948. A second election was held in the Republic on May 30, 1950, with 86 per cent of all eligible adults electing 210 National Assemblymen from a slate of 2,052 candidates. One hundred seats have been kept vacant in the Assembly to be filled by elections to be held north of the 38th parallel line as soon as conditions permit. President Syngman Rhee was elected to a four-year term, expiring on August 15, 1952,

by a vote in the National Assembly of 180 to 16.





What was accomplished to improve education in Korea may be indicated by these figures:

(1) An expansion of primary school enrollment from about 1½ million in 1945 to 2½ million in 1948; an increase in primary school teachers from 13,782 in 1945 to 34,757 in 1948; and an increase in the number of primary schools from 2,694 in 1945 to 3,442 in 1948.

(2) An increase in the number of Middle Schools from 252 in 1945 to 423 in 1948; with Korean enrollment increasing from 62,136 in 1945 to 226,960 in 1948, and of Korean Middle School teachers from 833

to 8,238.

(3) Expansion of collegiate-grade institutions from 19 in 1945 to 29 in 1948, with Korean enrollment increasing from 3,039 to 21,250.

(4) An adult education program that increased the proportion of the adult population able to read the Korean script, *Hangul*, from about one-third in 1945 to an estimated 83% in 1948.

(5) Inauguration of an on-the-job and technological training program operated in most industries and government bureaus, with results difficult to measure but widely praised by administrators as productive of excellent efficiency.

### Korean Culture

"The easeful serenity and grace" of Korean ceramics has often been noted by art experts, who have called Korean art "the most classical in the Far East." Buddhist statues, statuettes, temples, and pagodas mirror a civilization dating from the sixth century. Korean literature flourished so extensively that Chinese historians called Korea "the land of scholars and gentlemen." Upon this ancient base of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist culture, Korea has built a solid superstructure of Christianity, which has caused the country to be known in missionary circles as "the most Christian land in the Orient."





Amida-Buddha, Songto, Silla, 6th—9th century A. D.



Kwannon statuette, Silla.



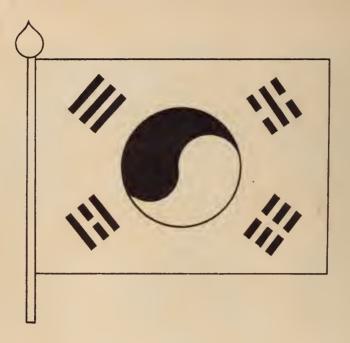
Amida-Buddha, Yutjömsa. Kokuryö, 6th—9th century A. D.



Pitcher with leaf-ornament in relief.



Celadon ewer with willow-ornament.



CURRENT INFORMATION ON KOREA and the following materials are available for free distribution:

The Republic of Korea Looks Ahead Fifty Facts on Korea Annotated Map of Korea Packet of materials for schools

Single copies of each are sent upon request; quantities available for educational organizations.

KOREAN PACIFIC PRESS

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This certificate guarantees good treatment to any enemy soldier desiring to cease fighting. Take this man to your nearest officer and treat him as an honorable prisoner of war.

DOUGLAS MacARTHUR General of the Army Commander-in-Chief 대한민국 병사에게 이것은 적의 조인으로서 누구나 항복하기를 보증하는 조명성이다. 이 사람들을 가까히 있는 다양시의 사람들을 가까히 있는 당신의 상환에게 테리고가시오 이사람을 모르고 대우하시오. 이사람들 대우하시오. 이사람들 대우하시오. 이사람들 대우하시오.

7030





**樂軍準備光糧,分發給難民。** 

中共為什麼恐慌呢?



耕合國軍總司令部

課應付自己內計的反檢。 意大利共党領袖科亞 一萬人在最近数星期一成党 一萬人在最近数星期一成党 一萬人在最近数星期中成党 一萬人在最近数星期中成党 一萬人在最近数星期中成党。 一萬人在最近数星期中成党。 一萬人在最近数星期中成党。 一萬人在最近数星期中成党。 一萬人在最近数星期中成党。 一萬人在最近的反叛事 一点,这词事件的结果,迫使 鮮保持堅定的立場,和自由世田為過去幾個月來联合回在朝 而中有三名被清除,普遍的西德共產党十名邦党部主

歐洲共產党危機



联軍猛虎」坦克,向漢江战區前進。

但是共党直接違反因內气 地的过界交给北韓的受傷战俘和民 是給在北韓的受傷战俘和民 是給在北韓的受傷战俘和民 是給在北韓的受傷战俘和民 是給在北韓的受傷战俘和民 是給在北韓的受傷战俘和民 电态垂攜帶的医药品天部 有共同関係的哲字會表

温暖的衣服和很好的食物預備着。 这有医药,我等向联合国军投狱、联合国军运过有医药,不管别的軍官和主兵、快快停止這個沒有結果的李衡、寒水服和食糧、忍沒着說不出的痛苦。 他對於联合國軍給予他的優待,表示很爽問軍官是一位語言學者,他說得丁流利的一時國軍投誠的。 投誠的。一是條一報、他是自動地自野投誠的。一是一人一般的中央軍官正在战俘收



國際紅十字 教潛北韓

要軍 医院給予中國士兵以最好的 医药





战停領受毛毡和飯碗他們也領到衣服和心要的寒泊

前為沒有臨時被護結果 可在東南各省海岸,直现在東南各省海岸,直 等战争中天傷兵很多。 就中共在內地到處搜尋医說中共在內地到處搜尋医的知識 埃爾教育 医药知識

協助韓國建設

联合國經由瑞典外交界,

联合國允撥款

明了人民大眾是怎樣也人樣危險,也與着撒退時他們無惡大產的統治。從他們嫌惡共產的統治。從他們無論怎 西議以後,才作上項的決社會部曾和联軍官員

州被中共槍斃。這證明北同情國府者前星期五在 據報導有受被安指為 内部紛乱日甚 韓國難民開始回家

大韓國軍

**麥克阿瑟瓦即告前即台國** 在北韓差不多所有的平

登陸,并予佔領。這個島 韓國軍前星期佔領了 下一元九港外黄土島、譯者 黄土島登陸

巡兵把他們放出去結果沒了十天的日子,然後帶引個軍曹遇的美國中尉和1個軍曹遇不到一個軍曹遇不到一個軍曹遇 仔膚經過陣地把那两個美這個青年人起初帶引三個 韓國青年放了兩個美國人 肽上來恒

聰 我不能 明

















**联軍準備米糧,分發給難民** 

到了。 中共為什麼恐慌呢? 中共為什麼恐慌呢? 中共為什麼恐慌,有三 是動工工在急,都證明中共三 有名教育被迫離開了們 有名教育被迫離開了們 有名數了當局,都證明中共三 是動工工在急,都說明中共三 不安呢?因為他們知道, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了, 中國人民很快地就明自了,



週間摘要

**联合國軍總司令部** 

唐中有三名被清除,普遍的 四為過去幾個月來联合司在朝 與為過去幾個月來联合司在朝 與所且在歐洲共產国家引起 與所且在歐洲共產国家引起 與所且在歐洲共產国家引起 與所且在歐洲共產国家引起 與所且在歐洲共產国家引起 可動的。這樣使許多企望 了新助勇氣。 工商表達第一名形党 部主 西德共產党十名形党 部主 西德共產党十名形党 部主

國際紅十字會會



联軍猛虎,坦克,向漢江战區前進

视 沒有的 這是一位高級的中共軍官,正在战俘收入者與別的軍官和主兵,快停止這個沒有結果的這個軍官是的,他就,他就,那一定,他就,是有數地,是一個軍程,就,要看,他就,他就,他就,他就,他的都被,因為缺乏足够的冬季飲戶,是不限和食糧,忍受着,就不出的痛苦,他就,等一般,会國軍投誠的。要之一是條一報,他是自動地向聯大學,而戰分不服和後種,我不便的人。他就得一流利的人。



5022

要軍 医院給予中國士兵以最好的 医药





战俘領受毛毡和飯碗。他們也領到衣服和心要的療治

多帥報告娶合國

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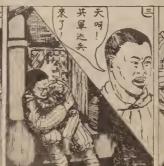
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#### Mundongie! Mundongie!

MAMIE GENE COLE HUSK

Based on a story by Rev. J. Kelly Unger, formerly Presbyterian (U.S.) Missionary at the R. M. Wilson Leprosy Colony, Soonchun, Korea.

My name is Pak Ser Pang. I was born in a quaint little piece of Mother Earth on a tiny island off the Southern coast of Korea, My island home is cut off from the usual rush and excitement of life. The days begin early and last a long time because there is nothing but the ocean to hide the sun from our flat land.

I ran around naked like the rest of the children in our village until I was four or five years old, so the sun painted my bony yellow body a dark tan. In the dirty streets of our tiny village we children played hopscotch, swam in the blue ocean and dreamed of the world beyond the water, a world we knew so little about.

Here my poor mother and father—ignorant, uncouth peasants, because they

never had a chance to learn better ways-eked out a hard living. Most of the nights we went to bed hungry because our small paddy fields provided just enough rice to keep us alive. This along with turnips from our little garden and the fish we caught in the ocean made up our meals. There was seldom enough food to stop the gnawing pain in our stomachs. All the people on our island were ancestor worshippers because we had never heard about any other god. My childish mind faced few problems, for all of life was about the same. There was little or no planning except for food. That was our one great problem; that and sickness—sickness brought on by hunger. And there was no medicine to ease the pain.

When I was about fourteen years old I began to realize that I was sick. Gradually I saw that I was losing my strength, and my appearance began to trouble my parents and especially the neighbors. My hands became numb and my feet felt far off. Then I began to have trouble seeing clearly. The neighbors next door, just ten feet away, began to speak sharply to me and order me out of their sight and away from their children. At first, I did not understand because nobody told me. Then I noticed people whisper when they saw me and point to their hands and feet and shake their heads. Often they would cross the road or turn around and go the other way.

I tried to get off by myself as much as possible. I'd take long, lonely walks and wonder what I ought do do. Then one day I heard some one call out the tragic word which sets every Korean aghast: "Mundongie! Mun-

dongie!" (Leper! Leper!) I was horrified.

For centuries my people had believed that if the shadow of one who had leprosy fell on another, he too would become a victim of the disease. No wonder my friends were shunning me! Mundongie! Mundongie! I was doomed.



Church. R. M. Wilson Leprosy Colony, Soonchun, Korea

My parents also were shunned by the neighbors and finally they were ordered to send me away. They were very sorry but they too were ignorant about the disease and thought that somehow I was guilty of angering the gods. So they gathered my share of rice and turnips, tied them tightly in a cloth, placed the package and me in a little boat and shoved it off. I was told never to return. I did not even look back.

Though I was weak and sick—my fingers turned up, my feet warped, my eyes bleary and my face swollen—I paddled slowly and painfully on until I landed the little boat on the coast of the mainland of Korea. The "mundongie look" had taken hold of me so that all who saw me knew at once that I had the terrible



Pastor Sone, here standing beside a monument to his two martyred sons, was himself martyred in 1950.

disease. "Mundongie! Mundongie!" everybody said as I passed and certainly looked the part; felt it too.

Many people cursed me; others threw rocks at me. I was frightened and utterly miserable. But I kept moving. Now and then some one talked to me at a distance and asked me why I did not go to the Colony. "What is that"? I asked. "A place for mundongies." I tried to find out where it was —without success, but always the voice said "Go on, go on."

I met some other mundongies and they called the place of refuge "Heaven" but they shook their heads sadly and said "No room. No room." I hobbled on and on. My rice and turnips were gone long ago. I begged for rice and managed to keep alive for the several weeks it took me to reach Soonchun. How wonderful! I saw the gate and wondered if they could take me in. "Please, please," I begged of the one at the gate. But he shook his head sadly and said: "No room. I'm sorry. Only when one dies can we take you. No room. No room."

As days passed the crowd around the gate grew. We would go away to beg part of the time but we always came back early in the morning when the gate keeper returned and when the "Jesus people" came out from the city

of Soonchun to visit the colony. Some of these were white people from America who were called "Christians." They spoke kindly to us and said they hoped money would come from America so that they could build more buildings and have more medicine and food. The place was like Heaven. We heard the patients singing beautful songs they called hymns, that told about a God of Love. I had never heard of a God of Love. But I knew that if I ever got into that wonderful place I would learn all I could about a God like that, who made people in America give money to buy food and medicine and homes for people they had never seen; even mundongies.

Finally one afternoon the kind white doctor came to the gate and told the keeper to let me in. "Me?" I could hardly believe it, I had waited so long. But I hobbled over and inside the gate. The doctor patted me on the shoulder and told me to go to the men's section of the clinic. There they took my name and told a boy to show me to my room where I would find clean clothes and towel. He showed me where I could get a bath. How good the clean water felt! I scrubbed and scrubbed. Then I put on clean clothes. They burned my old rags, I'm glad to say. Then I went to the clinic for my examination. That was the beginning, the glorious beginning.

A committee of elders and deacons from the church met me at the clinic and took me back to my room where they talked with me about Iesus, God's Son, who died and rose again to save "whosoever will"; even mundongies. I could hardly believe it but I wanted to believe it and fell to my knees and cried, "God, Lord Jesus, be merciful to me, a sinful mundongie! Save me." He did save me, and from that night I have done everything I can to let everybody I meet know I love the Lord Jesus.

I went to school and learned to read and write. They gave me a New Testament, and I started memorizing it. I was so crippled and weak that I could not do any real work so I spent most of my time reading and memorizing. I learned the Gospel of St. Matthew, first; every word of it by heart. I could recite it at one sitting. Then I learned St. Luke. Then Romans; then Galatians; then Ephesians; then Philippinians; Colossians; James, and First Timothy. It was all I could do and I loved doing it. Every time there is a visitor at the Church they call on me to recite scripture. They always have a time stopping me when I get started because I love to say the words of God. He has done so much for me.

Yes, friends, when I was a beggar boy they spit on me and called me, "Mundongie! Mundongie!" It made me very sad then. But if I had not been a mundongie I would not have come to this wonderful place. They threw stones at me along the road and yelled "Mundongie!" as I went to the well. But now in this place we call "Heaven" all of us are brothers in Christ. Praise God for it!

# KOREA: Spark to Set a World Afire?

By A. J. MUSTE

WAR...
APPEASEMENT...
or a
THIRD ALTERNATIVE?
1950

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#### **KOREA:**

Spark to Set a World Afire?

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A. J. MUSTE
Executive Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation



#### KOREA: Spark to Set a World Afire?

By A. J. Muste

THERE ARE TWO SHORT PARAGRAPHS in the opening pages of Newsweek magazine for July 10, 1950, which when placed side by side vividly suggest the mixed feelings the American people have about the war in Korea and at the same time outline the complicated character of the situation and the problems it presents. The first of these paragraphs appeared originally in Newsweek of April 24, 1950, and is reprinted in the later issue as proof of the prophetic powers of the editors:

It can't be officially admitted but the U. S. is trapped in South Korea. Its efforts to reform Syngman Rhee's government and build a satisfactory anti-Communist bulwark have been a dismal flop. Yet the U. S. can't get out without handing the country to the Soviets. Any such retreat would have a disastrous, perhaps fatal, effect on anti-Red morale throughout Asia. So, unpleasant as the outlook is, the U. S. will have to hang on.

The second paragraph opens the magazine's special section on The Korean War. It is headed "Uncle Sam Takes Role as World Cop" and says:

Never before had the United States risked so much in defense of freedom. Never had the American people seemed so firmly united in their approval of an audacious national policy. Never had the nation's prestige risen so high in the part of the world still free to admire courageous knight errantry.

On the one hand, we are "trapped in South Korea." On the other hand, Uncle Sam has become the brave and glamorous cop on the global beat. We are knights errant in a crusade for freedom. Our prestige among "free peoples" has never been so high. Never have the American people been "so firmly united in their approval of an audacious national policy."

When North Korean troops crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel into South Korea and President Truman a couple days later on June 30 ordered American around troops into that country, the "cold war" ended. Admittedly Russia and the United States now are engaged in a power-struggle, matching military might with military might, all around the world. Politically the Truman administration has committed the United States to World War III, which is to say, to all-out war with the strongest weapons that may be available, whenever in the opinion of the White House and the Pentagon the developing world situation, the "security" and the "interests" of the United States. require it. If the actions recently taken in Korea, Formosa, the Philippines and Indo-China in accord with the President's policy statement of June 27, 1950, were "inevitable" and required by the "national honor" of the United States, at another moment all-out war will similarly be "inevitable" and required by the "national honor."

Psychologically and spiritually the American people, if they accept this explicit extension to the entire planet of the "Truman doctrine" of "containment of Russia and communism by force," have also committed themselves to World War III.

To say this is not to say that all-out war will break out next week, next month, or even next year. Chronologically full-scale war may still be some distance away, though even in this sense the situation is ominous. Commentators have suggested that the "real" beginning of World War II was the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, and the failure of the democratic nations to take collective action against it, or Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia in 1935, or the Spanish Civil War in 1936. These events took place thirteen, seventeen and eighteen years respectively after the Armistice of 1918. Korea of 1950 is less than five years after V-J Day! Thus has the pace of world events in the Atomic Age been accelerated.

Clearly we need to get the best possible understanding of the present world situation, of what underlies it, of how we should react to it, of what may yet be done to avert catastrophe or to salvage what is worthy of preservation from the whirlwind being produced by the wind men have sown.

#### Recent Events

KOREA WAS "LIBERATED" from the Japanese at the end of World War II. Under a war-time agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union, the former occupied the southern end of the peninsula and accepted the surrender of the Japanese forces there. Russia functioned similarly north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. This arrangement was to remain in force only until a unified and independent government could be established for the whole country.

Each occupying nation functioned according to its own pattern in such matters during the transition period. The Soviet Union ruthlessly eliminated the Japanese business men and landlords. They promoted the organization of unions of peasants and industrial workers and so far as North Koreans were permitted to exercise economic and political power, it was in the hands of these unions. Industries were transferred from private to public ownership. Land was widely distributed to the peasants. All this was done under the guidance of the Communist Party, which was rapidly built up under Moscow leadership and which in its disciplined fashion exercised final power in the unions, the government, among the police, and later the army, and so on. Dissenting elements were purged.

In South Korea the American forces from the outset worked largely through Syngman Rhee, elder statesman and symbol of the Korean independence movement especially to the outside world. He had lived in exile for many years. His thinking was in terms of nineteenth century western democracy and a free enterprise economy and he was out of touch with the masses who had lived in Korea during the harsh Japanese occupation and with the ideas, including Communistic ones,

which had spread among them. On Rhee's advice the distribution of land to the peasants was for the most part postponed until a Korean government should be established. Any peasant could see the difference between the land policy in South Korea and in the North. The American Occupation had directives to encourage organization of workers and peasants but Rhee did not want strong bona fide unions, and the Occupation authorities (military) were primarily concerned about maintaining order. The presence and intense activity of Communists in the unions seems to them sufficient warrant for following Rhee's line of suppressing independent, and encouraging company, unions.

All Koreans were in the meantime agreed upon one thing, namely, that they wanted a united country with its own independent government. This was also ostensibly the objective of the two Occupying Powers. The continued division between the industrial north with a population of about nine million and the food-producing south with twenty million, was and is economic and political nonsense.

Russia and the Communists advocated both in North and South Korea the setting up of a coalition government in which virtually all parties would be represented. They were intent, however, on keeping out of the coalition, if possible, groups like Syngman Rhee's which were intransigently anti-Russian and anti-Communist. Experience in European satellite countries has demonstrated, furthermore, that the strictly-disciplined Communist Party always dominates such coalitions and before very long openly takes over.

For a time American policy in South Korea also favored the coalition idea, though the Occupation authorities wanted the Communists kept down and wanted in Korea a government which would not be "unfriendly" to the United States.

The two men on whom the United States depended to carry through the coalition policy in South Korea were a popular

non-Communist leftist, Lyuh Woon Hyung, and Kim Kiu Sic, an American-educated, highly respected Presbyterian elder who had been vice-premier in Synaman Rhee's government in exile. The two met for the first time on June 14, 1946 at the home of a political adviser to U.S. Commander Lt. General John R. Hodge. For a time discussions proceeded hopefully. Then worker and peasant discontent with the policy previously described expressed itself in strikes. Synaman Rhee's tough youth corps and Korean police, largely retained from the brutal Japanese regime, joined with American troops in violent suppression which led to riots and more suppression. Mass arrests and police raids shattered the unions and all leftist parties. Lyuh remained independent but the remnants of his party felt they had no alternative but to go underground and join the Communists. Both Kim and Lyuh denounced as a farce the election for a provisional South Korean legislature which was held under these conditions. In response to Kim's demand that the elections be annulled Gen. Hodge appointed some centrists to seats in the legislature and hope for a moderate government was kept flickering. In the spring of 1947 when the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission reconvened in an attempt to establish an all-Korean government, Kim and Lyuh tried once more. But on July 19 a rightist assassin shot down Lyuh on the street in Seoul. Hopes for a moderate course were at an end. The United States was committed to the support of Rhee's regime.\*

It was in the context of such developments that the Russian-sponsored government was set up in North Korea and the U.S.-U.N.-sponsored government in the South. Russia withdrew her troops in December 1948 except for a military mission numbering about 3,500. The United States withdrew her troops in June 1949 except for a military mission of about 500. Both have supplied military aid to their respective "puppets."

<sup>\*</sup>A detailed running account of these developments is found in **The Compass**, July 13, 1950, and in preceding and following issues. The series is written by Hugh Deame who served in U. S. Navy for four years as Japanese language officer, wrote broadcasts to the Orient for OWI, and visited South Korea in 1947-8. Other newspapers and periodicals furnish abundant corroborating documentation.

It is only as this background is kept in mind that anything like a balanced view of the developments which occurred toward the end of this June is possible. So far as this immediate situation in Korea is concerned, the weight of the available evidence seems to be with those who charge the North Korean republic with being the "aggressor." However, it is notoriously difficult in such situations to determine which "incidents" among many precipitated the conflict and who is "responsible" for such incidents. Each side engages in what the other side regards as "provocations" and they may well be just that. The North Korean government has made no secret of its conviction that Korea should be united and could only be united under a so-called coalition, but actually Communistcontrolled, regime. It has proclaimed its duty to "liberate" the oppressed South Koreans, if necessary by force. Communists have engaged in intense and often violent activity against the Syngman Rhee regime in South Korea.

That regime on its part has continued to pile up a sorry record. William Costello, director of news broadcasting for the Far Eastern Division, Columbia Broadcasting System, recently returned from a four-year tour of duty in Asia, writes\* of "a motley assortment of expatriates, collaborators (with the Japanese occupation), Fascist reactionaries, professional assassins and confused intellectuals" in speaking of the Rhee regime. The regime's purging of Communists was carried out in such a way that the public hates "Syngman Rhee's police; thousands of Korean peasants who have suffered from the brutality and rapacity of the police would welcome an opportunity to turn on them." Syngman Rhee, whose party was decisively defeated in an election some weeks ago but who still wields power, has proclaimed his intention to "liberate" the poor North Koreans. On July 14 Brigadier General William L. Roberts, head of the U. S. Military Mission in Korea for twenty-six months stated<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>New Republic, July 10, 1950

<sup>†</sup>A.P. dispatch New York Times. July 15, 1950

that the South Korean government did not get heavy military equipment before the recent large-scale fighting broke out chiefly because it had a strong desire to attack North Korea. "This placed us in a skittish position," General Roberts explained. "To prevent the South Koreans from attacking, we gave them no combat air force, no tanks and no heavy artillery."

Clearly North Korea is in the immediate sense the "aggressor." Its troops are on South Korean soil engaged in obviously well planned military operations. Pacifists of all people will not regard this lightly. Neither is there evidence that in the immediate situation on the Thirty-eighth Parallel the United States engaged in any provocation. But one can hardly be certain that the Rhee regime engaged in none. One suspects that he may have wanted intervention to save his regime and may not have made much of an effort to prevent a situation that would lead to intervention.

The union which the North Koreans on their part offer is unquestionably one that would have involved Communist control, but maybe the ordinary Korean would prefer that to long drawn out war or another occupation.

Whatever our further analysis may show, what we have already recorded makes it clear that American troops in Korea are hardly engaged in a perfectly simple police action to save an innocent pedestrian going on a lawful and beneficent errand from a bandit. There is surely reason for questioning whether the calculated risk of global war is rational or right under the circumstances.

#### Is This Police Action?

**T**HE STEPS TAKEN by the United States in the Korean crisis are justified primarily, however, as "police" or "collective security" action against an "aggressor." Russia, it is declared, through its puppet North Korea, is engaged in "aggression"

against South Korea and the democratic or "peace-loving" nations. North Korean troops are on South Korean soil.

It is conceivable, the argument continues, that Russia and/or North Korea have genuine grievances, but these should not be adjusted by unilateral military measures. Differences among nations should be settled by diplomacy and negotiation, preferably through the United Nations. "Peace-loving" nations must demonstrate unmistakably that no nation can get away with an attempt to settle some crucial issue by force.

Many hold that this case for "police" action is practically unassailable because of the stand taken by the United Nations Security Council. The United Nations, they contend, as the organization set up to maintain peace had a clear duty to order North Korean troops to cease fire and retire behind Parallel Thirty-eight. When this order was disregarded, the Security Council called on the United States and other nations to furnish military aid to stop the "aggression." It is under United Nations auspices, therefore, that the United States is proceeding to take the necessary "police" action. General MacArthur, pursuant to a United Nations request that the United States designate a commander in Korea, has been so designated. The United Nations flag flies beside the American flag over Korean battlefields. "The case," people say, "is as simple as that."

At the outset it is worth noting that even if the case were essentially as the exponents of American policy describe it, the action being taken is military and not "police" action in the usual sense of the term. Soldiers and bombing planes are fighting against other soldiers and against civilians. The "police" do not look and act like London bobbies or New York's "finest." It is war and it may be the spark that sets off World War III, as is indeed generally admitted. Whatever the merits of the argument that the war is a righteous one, we deceive ourselves by describing the fighting in Korea by a supposed analogy with police action.

#### Intervention in Civil War

Another important aspect of the Korean situation is that in a very real sense this is a civil war, attempting to achieve national unity under one or another of two competing regimes. That comparatively little attention has been paid to this fact is unfortunate and probably symptomatic, since it is another instance of a pattern that shows up in nearly every recurring crisis, especially in the Orient. Such a war raged in China for many years. One is going on openly in Indo-China and another just below the surface in Iran.

Less than a century ago the United States was embroiled in Civil War in which national unity and competing economic systems were basic factors. The issue of foreign meddling in that civil conflict was a very sore one. Most Americans would now agree that it would have been most unfortunate if Great Britain had intervened, as influential elements in that country wanted to do. The North certainly would have regarded intervention as an act of war. Perhaps Americans ought to ponder this analogy between an episode in their own history and what is taking place in Korea rather than concentrating exclusively on the "police" action analogy.

The fact is that neither the United States nor the United Nations would have intervened in the Korean civil war today if they did not regard it as an episode in the power-struggle between Russia and the United States. The "national interests" and the "security" of the United States are involved and it is assumed that this is the paramount consideration for any nation.

It has long been recognized that domination of Europe by one power would harm the "interests" and imperil the "security" of the United States. Germany under the Kaiser and again under Hitler sought to establish itself as such a power on the European continent. The United States "had to" fight two world wars to prevent that. If it had not done that, it would have become an "inferior" power.

#### The Power Conflict

NOW THE "INTERESTS" and "security" of this country are involved, it is argued, in Europe, in the Pacific and in fact all over the world. The place of Germany as the threat to world peace has been taken in American propaganda by Russia. President Truman in the policy statement of June 27, 1950, makes this perfectly explicit and couples with the United Nations police action in Korea other moves that are frankly American moves in the global conflict with Russia. Thus he announces that an American fleet is being sent to Formosa, and that the deposed Nationalist Government of China now located on that island-whose representation in the United Nations the United States still recognizes and defends—has been ordered not to carry on military operations against the Chinese mainland held by the Communists. "The determination of the future status of Formosa"—which for the present is made a de facto military base and ward or puppet of the United States—"must await the restoration of security in the Pacific."

This is frankly on the ground that "the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area." (Use of the term "Communist" here, of course, serves as a warning both to Russia and to the Chinese Communist government which admittedly is the functioning government on the entire Chinese mainland and has plenty of grounds for contending that Formosa belongs to China.) The functions of American troops so far away from home are "lawful," presumably on account of the American victory over Japan in World War II, and "necessary" for American "interests" and "security."

John Foster Dulles pointed to the same kind of consideration in a radio address on his recent return from Korea and Japan.\* He had gone to Japan to discuss a projected treaty between

<sup>\*</sup>New York Times, July 2, 1950

that country and the United States. Spokesmen for the Administration had made it clear that in connection with such a treaty a prime consideration must be the "security" of Japan against Russian attack. Since with the consent if not on the initiative of the United States Occupation authorities, Japan had a clause in its constitution eliminating any military establishment whatever, it had also been made clear that the United States would "have to" provide Japan with the "security" which an unarmed nation would "of course" lack. This in turn meant bases for the United States in Japan.

Against this background Mr. Dulles pointed out that Russia already held the island of Sakhalin to the north of Japan and that Korea is very close to the southern part of Japan. "Thus, if the Communists have . . . Sakhalin . . . also Korea . . . Japan would be between the upper and lower jaws of the Russian bear. That obviously would make it more difficult to provide the Japanese people with security." And according to current American foreign policy the United States must furnish the Japanese with this "security" since the "security" of the United States takes in the whole Pacific area, and Japan, as everyone knows, is in that area. There is good reason to suppose that the Kremlin's move to consolidate the Russian position in Korea, i.e., on the Asiatic mainland, may have been made to counter the American move to consolidate its power position in Japan.

Thus it is that realistic consideration of the Korean crisis and how to deal with it must give adequate weight to this basic fact that two vast, dynamic, powerful nations—the Soviet Union and the United States—armed with more destructive and diabolical weapons than nations have ever possessed in the past, are locked in a struggle of power all around the world. The governments and the peoples of these two countries are admittedly seeking to defend and promote the "interests" and "security" of their respective national states. Each group contends that in so doing it is acting in the best interest of other

peoples and on behalf of a way of life which alone is truly good, whereas the other nation is acting against the interests of mankind and for an evil and enslaving way of life. Unbiased observers question and discount the claims of each in this regard.

In fact, on occasion each disregards the sacredness of its own "faith" and the need of defending it against, and keeping itself separate from, those who will not embrace it. Thus Russia and the United States were themselves allies in war not long ago. The United States during the war sent more than eleven billion dollars' worth of lend-lease material to Stalin's Communist dictatorship and thus helped to save the Communist dictatorship from destruction.

#### **Building Up Enemies**

MOREOVER, WHATEVER THESE "interests" and this "security" may be, the conflict on behalf of them periodically leads this nation to help build up another nation whose people Americans must later war against because it has become a threat to American "interests" and "security." Thus we helped to build up Japan and sent munitions to its war-lords, and then sent American boys to fight Japanese and be killed, in some cases with American shells. In much the same way the United States fought Germany in World War I, helped rebuild German military power even under the Nazis, then fought Germany again, and now once more is engaged in rebuilding it.

In the course of World War II we helped make Stalin covictor in the greatest war in history and save the Russian dictatorship. Now on behalf of these same American "interests" and "security" American boys must war against Koreans and tomorrow perhaps Russians. Indeed we are admittedly killing North Koreans in order to limit or weaken the power position of Stalin and the Russians. It is hard to avoid asking whether this power-struggle between rival nation-states is not totally irrational.

Moreover, when we are dealing with this power rivalry, the case for each nation appears equally good or bad, as one chooses to put it. If the United States "has" to expand across an entire continent and in political or power terms "has" to make the Atlantic and the Pacific and assorted seas including those around Japan, Formosa and China, American lakes, why does not Russia "have" to expand across an entire continent and build up "security" zones in eastern and central Europe, in China, Korea, perhaps Iran and a few other spots? If the United States has any business in South Korea, why not Russia in North? Or, one might even say, if the United States has interests in Japan and its security requires American troops there, why has not Russia interests in Mexico and Canada and why might not her security require the presence of some dependable Russian, or at least Mexican and Canadian Communist troops there? Or if Russia ought to keep out of Mexico and Canada. why should not the United States keep on its side of the Pacific? If another gun or A-bomb in the Russian arsenal is a threat to this country, why is not another gun or A-bomb in the American arsenal an equal threat against Russia?

Moreover, in this context the question of who is the "aggressor" in any specific action is always, from one standpoint, a very minor one, though each nation tries very hard to fasten that label on its adversary. The question is minor because in the nature of this power-rivalry each nation is an "aggressor" against the other and is invariably so regarded by the other. If one makes a move that alters the power-situation, the other "must" make a counter-move. If it is to the "advantage" of one to hold a certain territory, or to have a certain government in office in another nation, it automatically becomes the "advantage" of the other to change the set-up. On this level, the debate between two nations or groups of nations is a debate about power. It will be settled as such "debates" always are, in terms of power, which is to say on the battlefield.

There is considerable opinion in American political and military circles that this is the situation, but it is coupled with the conviction that the only thing a nation can do in such a situation is to fight. The exponents of this view, if reminded that nations may lose as well as win and that each in the end does lose, would probably contend that this is still the proper way for a nation to behave or that, in any case, it is the **only** way a nation can behave. They go on to argue that this time the United States will win precisely because it and the nations allied with it have taken decisive "collective action" in time. This the "democratic" nations, it is said, failed to do against the Japanese warlords in 1931, and against Mussolini, Hitler and Franco a little later.

#### Is Victory Assured?

In the First Place, the United States starts off at a considerable disadvantage. What people mean when they say the United States was "trapped in Korea" is partly that the military preferred not to try to hold Korea against Russia and very likely do not believe that it can be held if Russia is determined. It is easily available to Russia and Communist China by land. It is very far away from America and approachable from American bases only by tying up sea and air transport that might at any moment be desperately needed elsewhere. It is good terrain for the kind of guerilla war at which Communist-trained North Koreans are adept.

Secondly, in Korea, China and Indo-China, the United States is intervening in civil wars a very long way from home. The nation that does this is virtually always highly unpopular, to some extent on both sides.

Third, this is intervention by a "white" nation, identified with western conquest of Asia in the past, and if there is one thing certain about the Asiatics it is that they want westerners out of there. Fourth, American "intervention" is on the side of unpopular regimes such as that of Bao Dai, Chiang Kai-Shek and

Syngman Rhee. Tied up with such regimes the United States is at a disadvantage compared with Russia, which is for immediate abolition of them. The experience with the support America gave to the Nationalist regime in China seems to prove pretty conclusively that the Asiatic masses cannot be kept from going Communist by military measures.

One or two additional comments may be made at this time on the idea that America and its allies will stave off a war or win it because they are applying force in time. The first is that the argument that Mussolini, Hitler, and the Japanese militarists would have been "stopped" if only "collective" measures had been applied at the start is a speculation. It is quite possible that a show of force would have halted these "aggressors" temporarily at this point or that. But if fundamental political and economic difficulties had not been remedied, the conditions that produced Nazism in Germany, for example, would have broken out in another place and form as surely as an overcharge of steam will blow out a boiler at one spot if not at another. The assumption that the western nations, if they had stopped Hitler in the Saar, would have proceeded to remedy the evils that begot and nurtured Nazism is not supported by history, or by the recent behavior of these nations after they gained a complete victory over the Nazi regime.

The argument stands on shaky legs in another respect. Russia today is hardly a totalitarianism "on the make," in the early, comparatively feeble stage of expansionism, like the Japanese in 1931, Italy in 1935, or even Hitler in the Middle Thirties. The effort to contain Russia and communism by force has, with only a brief interval, been the policy of Western nations since the Revolution of 1917. There seems little reason to believe that the policy on which, or in spite of which, the Stalinist regime evidently thrived from 1917-39, under the power-relationships of that period, will prove magically successful in 1950 when the Russian power position is, relatively and absolutely, vastly more favorable.

It is entirely possible, of course, that a sufficient show of force might result in a temporary stabilization of United States-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics relationships, and the possibility that open warfare may be confined to Korea cannot yet be finally ruled out. However, the history of the last five years of Russian expansionism and persistent prosecution of the "war of nerves" does not give any grounds for optimism. It seems at the moment much more likely that as in Korea, so at other points, the pace of the conflict will be stepped up.

Even if a temporary stabilization should take place, however, this will not prove that Russia can be intimidated into backing down and making real peace, any more than Russia is going to be able to intimidate the United States, if it should, for example, experience a decisive defeat in Korea, into really giving up rather than redoubling its preparations for the ultimate showdown.

#### Shall We Drop That Bomb?

SUCH A SHOWDOWN would be with atomic and possibly biological weapons. Presumably the United States still has the advantage over Russia in atomic stockpiling. Winston Churchill and others see this advantage as offsetting the disadvantages of long lines of communication to which we have referred, and voices are raised in Parliament and Congress suggesting that it might be best for the United States to drop a few atomic bombs on North Korea if that country and Russia do not shortly—and after solemn warning—abandon their "aggressive" conduct. If, it is argued, this is the only way to prove that "aggression" must stop, then that is better than to undergo virtually unendurable tension for another period, only to have an all-out war when Russia is no longer at a disadvantage in atomic armament.

It is to be feared that this line of reasoning will have an increasing appeal as time goes on for many people, including some in authority. Nevertheless, to resort to atomic bombing or

the serious threat of it in Asia would be playing straight into Stalin's hands. It may even be that the Kremlin might be deliberately baiting President Truman to add the atomic bombing of Korea to that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For the Asiatic and African masses such an act would forever "prove" the Stalinist contention that it is the Americans who are the ruthless warmongers who will stop at nothing. It might hasten rather than postpone general war. It would not eliminate the ultimate showdown, even if it did postpone it, and it would insure that that showdown would be even more savage.

We conclude, then, that in this context of the power conflict, global war is the outcome and that there is no assurance that in this war the victor—if there be a victor, and whatever "victory" may mean—will be the United States.

# Who Is the Aggressor?

As WE INDICATED EARLIER, Americans are also concerned about political and moral issues in connection with the present crisis, and about two of these it is necessary to say something more. One is the element of "aggression" and whether men and nations are not bound, at almost any cost, to end it; the other has to do with the menace of Communist totalitarianism.

We have said all that needs, for present purposes, to be said in this connection about North and South Korea. Here we have to consider briefly the charge that in the world generally and in Korea in particular Russia is the "aggressor." The writer certainly has no doubt that she is **an** aggressor. But the reader will recall what was said earlier about the power rivalry between the United States and Russia. "For isolationists," as someone once said, "these Americans do certainly get around."

Consider also that the United States is a nation that has, or thinks it has, preponderant power. It is extremely wealthy. Its citizens have large amounts of capital they want to invest. Consequently, it does not want to be disturbed; the **status quo** suits us Americans and we just want everything to be quiet and peaceful. We are convinced that our super-armaments exist only to maintain the peace, and not to enable us to hang on—even at the risk of a world war—to what we have. It seems obvious to us that anyone who wants to upset this ideal situation is an "aggressor," a bandit and a Bolshevik.

But there are impoverished masses who are determined to upset this situation and we have given no indication that we might be willing to lower our standard of living temporarily in order to help raise theirs. Russia, on its part, does not see itself as we see it. It sees itself as "the liberator of colonial peoples"—who often agree with that estimate rather than with ours—and as a rising, healthy nation destined to take the place of a nation that will not adapt itself to the new age and is destined to follow Babylon, Rome and Britain into oblivion or insignficance.

Nor is the situation altered by citing the Russian refusal to accept the Baruch plan, its walking out of the United Nations because other nations refuse to recognize the de facto Communist government of China, and so on. These matters have been dealt with elsewhere.\* Let it suffice to put it that Russia refuses to accept majority decisions in a United Nations dominated by non-Communist nations. Then let us ask whether the United States would become a "law-abiding" member of a United Nations dominated by Communist nations. If so, why do we still back Nationalist China's representative in the United Nations and let him vote sanctions against Communist North Korea, while refusing to recognize the de facto government of the most populous nation on earth?

We seem to be "trapped," to use **Newsweek's** expressive phrase. To let Russia go on is to invite war, but to stop her by force is also to invite war. Either course would be an episode on the way to World War III.

<sup>\*</sup>America, Russia and the Bomb, National Council Against Conscription, 25c. What Would Pacifists Do About Dictators?, A. J. Muste, Fellowship, 10c.

### What About the UN?

ALL THIS HAS A VITAL BEARING on what is happening in and to the United Nations. The course it has taken cannot in the political and moral sense be characterized as simple, clean police action, though many individuals intended it to be and many more wished it to be. But even if it were, Russia does not accept it as such. In fact, therefore, we have civil war, not police action. Moreover, it is global civil war, and even if it is in some degree a righteous or even holy war on "our" side, the human race may be doomed and democratic and Christian values will be destroyed if it runs its course.

The United Nations also, then, is "trapped." It might well have been regarded as a laughing-stock by much of the world if it had not called for military action in Korea. But by calling for such action, it transformed itself into a war agency. It has in fact decreed that World War III is to be known as the United Nations' War Against Communism. On that basis the masses in this country are to be led to accept, and have already largely accepted, the atomic war they have dreaded and against which, ever since Hiroshima Day in 1945, they have felt a deep moral revulsion.

# The Menace of Communism

In the ABSENCE of resistance or the readiness to resist to the limit, an attempt might be made to impose communism on the American people and, in the ordinary sense of the term might succeed. "Appeasement" is no more likely to work in dealing with the Kremlin than it did with Hitler Germany.

To all who believe in Christian and democratic values, as we do, the struggle against totalitarianism of all kinds is a very important one. Nevertheless, two world wars have proved that war does not stop communism. On the contrary war gives communism its chance. The psychological tension, the social upheaval and the material destruction of war prepare the soil in which communism flourishes.

Moreover, to multitudes in industrially backward countries, communism represents the means of their liberation from feudalism, landlordism and colonialism. The United States unfortunately has often lined up with regimes which maintain or at best are very slow to remedy the very evils that the masses are determined to end. The surest way to turn Asia over to Stalin is to make the struggle against the Communist way of life synonymous with war waged by American troops on the soil of Asiatic countries.

More fundamental still is a consideration that arises from the very nature of democracy and the Christian way of life. War, even atomic and biological war, may conceivably be an instrument to serve the purposes of a totalitarian regime, though it is more likely to destroy every nation that uses it. But war, certainly in its modern form, can only poison and destroy democracy. Christians or humanitarians who take up atom bombs belie their own professions, cause a rent in their own souls, and inflict an abysmal spiritual defeat upon themselves.

# The Basic Facts

**T**O SUM UP the situation with which the American people are now confronted:

- 1. The United States is engaged in shooting war in Korea.
- 2. Back of the war in Korea is a titanic, global struggle of power between Russia and the United States. **Politically** World War III has started, although some time may yet intervene before it becomes all-out war. For the American people the question is whether to get out of or stay in this war. Each individual American must now answer the question of whether he will or will not take part in atomic and biological war.
- 3. In this war the United States suffers under a number of handicaps and can by no means be sure of victory—whatever "victory" in such a war may mean.

- 4. The moral position of the United States in this conflict has serious weaknesses. It was the United States which in 1945 made the unilateral decision to launch atomic war on the earth. The fact that having done that we recoiled and, at least while we thought we had the monopoly of the bomb and the knowhow of its construction, wanted to bring about international control, does not wipe out Hiroshima and Nagasaki and all that they mean in political and moral terms. When Russia decided unilaterally to build its own stockpile, to accept control on its own terms and at a time convenient to itself, and in the meantime to take the "calculated risk" of "having" to use the atomic bomb when its "interests" or the cause of "world liberation" require it, the moral position of the Russian regime became bad, shockingly bad. This does not wipe out the fact that the American moral position remains bad, shockingly bad: it underscores it. And there are other weaknesses in our moral position, too, such as our failure to use our resources and technology to raise the world standard of living, and our hoarding food or letting it rot while others starve.
- 5. There is no longer a quick, easy, fairly cheap solution. We are now so far down the road to war that going on and turning back are both fearful operations. The enemy, Russia, is powerful and determined, as is the United States. The power-struggle having reached the stage it has, the Russians will take advantage of every "weakness" on the part of their enemies. Furthermore, Communist totalitarianism is itself a monstrous evil which humanity should resist.

### The Strategic Problem

THE BROAD, STRATEGIC PROBLEM, then, is this: If the West fails to resist, Communist totalitarianism may overrun the earth. If the West continues to resist by the means of modern warfare, this will lead to global war and chaos or the general triumph of totalitarianism. Whatever the physical outcome, spiritually the totalitarians would win.

The make-the-best-of-both-worlds "solution" is that, on the one hand, the United States should keep up its military "security" and not let Russia or its satellites get away with agression. On the other hand, we should improve our political program: stop supporting undemocratic regimes in Asia, have racial equality at home, and so on.

This is the proposal of all the many varieties of liberals. It is not new. It is what liberals have been advocating for four decades. Riding these two horses going in opposite directions does not work. When they try or pretend to do both, nations always put their money and moral steam first into H-bombs, and never have enough of either left to do anything adequate about economic rehabilitation and social change. Moreover, military "necessity" leads to alliances with the very elements that oppose all idealistic or progressive measures. With each succeeding war a larger percentage of liberals line up for war in the final showdown. This is what both the Communists and the political and military leaders in the liberal's respective countries calculated the liberals would do.

#### The Tactical Problem

THE PAINFUL and frightening tactical problem that emerges is this: Suppose a people like the American people were to decide to draw back from being implicated in the atrocity of atomic war, adopt a policy of creative use of their resources and skills for truly liberating mankind, and rely on Gandhian nonviolent resistance. Would not the Russian Communist leaders at least at first distrust their sincerity? If during the period when we were not yet organized and trained for nonviolent resistance, we did not "keep up our military defenses" and refuse to "let Russia get away with aggression," would we not be running a fearful risk?

# **Trapped**

 ${f T}$ HE HONEST ANSWER to that question is an unqualified yes. This is the ultimate sense in which we and mankind are

"trapped." We are sunk if we do not change our course radically and promptly. But we have to try to change under the most difficult circumstances, when it may actually be "too late" to change.

What does the pacifist say to this? In the first place, this argument that to attempt a radical change of course now is fearfully risky is the ultimate, most subtle and most debilitating temptation. For Americans today it represents the snake that hypnotizes the bird into impotent rigidity. To change the metaphor, it means seeing a man about to step over the edge into a chasm and not telling him to stop and turn around before taking that next step, because even if he tried to save himself, it would not be certain that someone else might not push him over. The fact is that the lateness of the hour and the consequent viciousness of the trap in which we are caught should lead us to summon all our energies now, without another moment's delay.

# That Man May Live

**B**UT METAPHORS are of only limited value and always partially misleading. Basically the pacifist answer—the Christian answer, the answer of all great religions—is this: The problem is ultimately a spiritual one. Shall human beings survive as human beings, shall a truly human existence continue on this planet, or shall man descend below the level of the brute? Shall men destroy man or shall they continue the work of creation—creation of a true civilization? If it helps to envisage the problem, let us say that the question is whether Communist totalitarianism shall drag the democratic and Christian peoples down to its own level or whether spiritually they will refuse to bow the knee to it, to call on Satan to cast out Satan.

If the American people today had the imagination, courage and faith to launch the true human revolution, placing itself at the service of mankind and practicing nonviolent resistance to aggression and dictatorship, the price would be high, and it might be too late to avert vast catastrophes anyway. But for a nation to lay down its life for mankind and truth, in an attempt to lead the world to a creative solution of the appeasement versus war-to-end-war impasse, would be an utterly different historical deed than that of a nation which joined other nations in atomic suicide and in greater or less degree goaded them into it. If a nation were willing to risk destruction for peace and truth, man as a human being rather than a brute would have reasserted himself. Humanity as a spiritual reality would live. Truth, decency, honor, courage would still live on earth in the midst of madness. In time civilization could be rebuilt on firmer and more beautiful lines than ever. In a profound sense all the suffering and the travail of men might be redeemed.

# Russians Are Human

AND THERE is a possibility that if the Russians and Communists faced a more profound revolution than their own, espoused by men as ready as they to die for their faith but refusing to kill or to hate, the catastrophe of world war might be averted and the menace of totalitarianism soon dispelled.\* We have contended for years against political naivete in dealing with the Russian leaders and the Communists. But they are human beings, and sometimes we forget that, as perhaps they often forget that we are human too. It is tremendously important that Americans realize the extent to which they give occasion for such doubts. Perhaps someone has to be very deeply and courageously human in order to enable others also to be true to themselves. And, on a quite simple and elementary level, the ordinary Russian does not want atomic war any more than the ordinary American.

If there is no nation to follow the course we have suggested, then the pacifist would say that it is all the more important that smaller groups of people—pacifists, Christians, whoever they

<sup>\*</sup>See Gandhi and the H-Bomb by A. J. Muste, Fellowship, 15¢. The Calculated Risk by Alfred Hassler, Fellowship, 5¢.

may be, all over the world—should follow that course, and keep mankind as a spiritual entity alive in the midst of the catastrophes and the moral disintegration that will sweep over men and nations. Finally it is all the more important that **one** man even if he stood alone, should stand apart, refuse to join the compulsive march of the armies, and continue to be a man rather than a dictator or a conscript in atomic war or a passive automaton.

## **Action Program**

A PROGRAM OF ACTION on this basis would include the following:

1. Support of efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and mediation of the issues in that situation and the issues that underlie the East-West conflict. Pacifists should, however, feel under a deep sense of responsibility in dealing with specific mediation proposals. They have a moral right to refuse any support to American military measures and to insist that the United States should cease waging or preparing for war, withdraw from the power-struggle and adopt a policy of creative service to mankind. The moral right of pacifists to set forth this radical gospel is conditional on their making it clear that they issue the same call to Russia and other nations, and on their being frank with their American fellow-citizens as to what it may cost to pursue this course.

But pacifists are on dangerous ground when they back up political maneuvers, well-meaning and attractive as they may be, which proceed from an entirely different philosophy. They should scrupulously avoid putting the United States "on the spot" vis-a-vis Russia in connection with proposals which essentially aim to achieve a bargain between governments which are still pursuing their respective interests and security, and rely on military force. Jesus said, to the covetous man who wanted Jesus to compel his brother to divide an inheritance, "Who hath set me to be a judge and divider over you?" The

rule should guide pacifists in their attitude toward the claims of conflicting nation-states. Mediation and reconciliation may not be the same thing, and it is reconciliation that is needed. Appeasement and renunciation are not the same thing at all. It is renunciation that we call for because there is no hope either in appeasement or in counter-violence.

In the absence of a basic resolution of the power-struggle mediation moves always will be tinged with considerations growing out of that struggle: a nation will welcome or reject mediation according as it interprets its own "interests" at the moment. This will apply also to governments which proffer mediation. The danger of another Munich must be remembered. If hostilities should be suspended and some kind of mediation begun, we should continue to watch critically whether the basic power-struggle is eliminated. Otherwise, the "breathing-spell" will be used to prepare more adequately for war.

- 2. Urging that the United Nations promptly cease to serve as a war agency. Participation on one side in the war between great powers can only destroy the United Nations. The United Nations should exercise the only power it is capable of exercising, the moral power it has as the voice of the longing of men for peace. It must keep calling for an end of hostilities and exploration of peaceful means of resolving conflict. At this stage in the global conflict, this may offer slim hope; that is all the more reason why that slim hope should be kept alive and the one political world body that might be an agency of peace not transformed into an agency of war.
- 3. Advocacy of abandonment by the United States of the war method and adoption of a nonviolent program, including racial equality at home and abroad, and a concentrated effort at raising the standard of living of the masses, especially in the so-called backward countries and in the lands of our "enemies." Uncle Sam, the soldier, should get out of Korea, Japan and the rest in order that Uncle Sam as the friend and enormously skilled fellow worker may get in.

- 4. Strenuous efforts to bring the challenge of pacifism to as many individuals as possible and to get them to declare clearly and publicly — in their families, neighborhoods, churches, unions, before draft boards, etc. — their refusal to serve in armies, to be conscripted, to make or transport munitions. They should make it clear that they are as ready to defend human life and democratic values and to oppose aggression by nonviolent means as they are determined not to take part in war. Such open and public adoption of the "conscientious objector" position is essential because so long as the White House and Pentagon believe that in a showdown the people will "go along" with military measures, these agencies will continue to prepare for war and to wage it. The only basis on which Truman could do otherwise would be if he took a C.O. stand. We believe he should-that it is the wisest, most patriotic and human thing to do. But Truman is under no greater moral obligation to do that than is any one of his fellow citizens.
- 5. Individuals and groups who reject the way of war should go patiently about weaving strands of human fellowship wherever they may be; easing suffering; seeking to remove injustice and inequality; building the community of man in accordance with the purpose of God. They should train themselves as "soldiers of nonviolence" striving to deal with conflict situations. They should become missionaries, preachers of the gospel of nonviolence and truth, all over the land and the world—not least to Communists and peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Thus by the word and by the deed, they would build the International of man, the World Community, which alone will stand in the Atomic Age that will certainly dissolve national powers and all institutions that limit and exclude, and that set man against man anywhere on the earth.

# FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION 1941 OREGON BERKELEY 3, CALIFORNIA



KOREA LETTER

150 Fifth Avenue New York 11, N.Y. July 25, 1950

Dear friends of Korea,

A month has now passed since the invasion started in Korea. There are some things which should be reported to those who, with us at the Board of Missions, are concerned for the welfare of Korea and for our Christian friends and missionary undertakings there.

To take up the narrative as of about July 7th when last I wrote of these matters, it should be confirmed (1) that in the early hours of the onslaught and in the very path of the invaders, all but six of our Methodist missionaries in Korea were safely evacuated to Japan, thanks to the amazing alertness and cooperation of American military, diplomatic and transportation facilities; (2) that six missionaries of our Board were quickly engulfed in the advance as it swept over Songdo (Kaesong) which is so near the 38th parallel: the Rev. A. Kristian Jensen, the Rev. Lawrence Zellers, Dr. Ernst Kisch, Miss Nell Dyer, Miss Bertha Smith, and Miss Helen Rosser, R.N.; (3) that there was no truth in the report that Mrs. Frances Rogers Zellers was with her husband in Songdo and therefore also made a prisoner, but that she is at this writing with the other evacuees in Japan and soon to be brought to the United States; (4) that all other Protestant missionaries were likewise evacuated to Japan, except six men of the Northern Presbyterian and ten of the Southern Presbyterian missions who were permitted to remain. It should be borne in mind, however, that all of these were south of Seoul and therefore not involved in the quick capitulation of the cities and countryside of central Korea. So far as is known no Protestant missionary, except for the six Methodists designated above, remained in Korea north of Taejon where the fighting has been so vicious of late; and none have returned to their homes or work in or near Seoul.

Now let us consider some of the more recent developments. Almost all of those evacuated were first taken to Fukuoka, on the island of Kyushu in southern Japan. They were then deployed as rapidly as possible to other communities where lodgings were available. As it happened, most of those of our Division of Foreign Missions were taken to Osaka, and were then told that housing accommodations were being made available at Kwansei Gakuin, one of the fine educational institutions long sponsored by Methodists, in the city of Nishinomiya.

After brief stays in Fukuoka and then in the hot spring resort of Beppu, most of our Woman's Division workers were located with other missionaries in Fukuoka, Nagasaki, Tokyo and elsewhere. They can be reached by addressing letters, with air mail postage in care of the W.D.C.S. at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N.Y. Fortunately for all concerned, Secretary John C. Smith of the Presbyterian Board of Missions was in Korea at the time of the invasion. In the interests of Protestant cooperation, though not with any such eventuality in mind, we Methodists had conmended his leadership to all our workers there. Thus Dr. Smith was able to serve both as a rallying point for all involved and as liaison with the various boards in this country. He even threw all his American dollars in travelers' checks into the common pool and this enabled Presbyterians and Methodists alike to have at least Five Dollars each with which to purchase things in the Army P-X on arrival in Japan. We are thankful both for his help and for this degree of interdenominational fellowship. Some Methodists are now inclined to call him "Bishop" Smith, but we do not wish thus to increase his worries.

Of the twenty-five DFM missionaries, together with children, who were located temporarily at Kwansei Gakuin, the following may be reported. For health and other important reasons, permission has been given for the return to the United States of the Rev. and Mrs. Archer Turner, the Rev. and Mrs. L. C. Brannon, the Rev. and Mrs. M. O. Burkholder, and the families of the Rev. Carl Judy and the Rev. James H. Moore. The others will, for the time being, remain in Japan. The newlywed Rev. and Mrs. Lyman P. Taylor are spending part of the summer at a Youth Work Camp somewhere near Tokyo and can be reached c/o Tokyo Foreign Missionaries, APO 500, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif.

The others, temporarily at least, may be address at Kwansei Gakuin, Nishinomiya, Japan, or c/o Foreign Missions Conf. of N.A., APO 317, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif. In addition to those who are scheduled to return to this country but who have not yet secured passage, there are in this group the following:

Rev. and Mrs. William E. Shaw Rev. and Mrs. Charles A. Sauer

Rev. and Mrs. Charles D. Stokes Rev. and Mrs. James Walton Spitzkeit Mr. and Mrs. Donald Payne Dr. Fred Manget Mrs. A. K. (Maud) Jensen

For the present these faithful and hardy workers will be obtaining some rest and relaxation following their arduous experiences. They desire to be as close as possible to the land and the work they love, and to keep themselves in readiness to get back to Korea as quickly as possible when the opportunity presents itself for service there.

But missionaries cannot long remain idle, and already plans are on foot to engage their time and energies in constructive pursuits. Some will probably accept tasks assigned them by the Council of Cooperation, through which we Methodists participate in the work of the united Church of Christian Japan. Certain teaching tasks will be taken up as soon as school starts in September. Others are planning to render long-needed service among the hundreds of thousands of Koreans in Japan's larger cities. And still others will be studying the Korean language in preparation for the day of their return to the peninsula.

The chief concern of these magnificent "refugees" at the moment is for clothes and the other personal effects which they had to leave behind them in Korea. Shelter may be found for them in Japan, and household furnishings may now be secured there. However, it should be known by all who love and care for them that they were obliged to walk out of their homes with no more than a single suitcase, and some not even with that. Though the mission board will expect to help them in their financial losses, there is need right now for such aid as friends and supporters can give to provide many of the personal effects which American people need wherever they are. Gifts may of course be sent direct, but it may be well to give assurance here that money may be sent through the Board when properly marked a personal gift or may be forwarded as a general gift to help the Board meet the very great cost of this whole evacuation.

Indeed, all our supporting churches and friends should bear in mind that we and these missionaries shall now be needing funds that would not otherwise be necessary. Therefore, the present is no time for reducing mission support or Advance Fund giving for Korea, just because our workers are not there. Certainly, we are not permanently out of Korea; but we should now be accumulating reserves for the day when Christ and His Church may again assume leadership among the Korean people.

Again, we should keep in mind that relief and rehabilitation will be Korea's greatest need when we can again render Christian service there. Even now some of the Presbyterian missionaries who were able to remain in the very south of the peninsula are giving aid to the millions of refugees from the North, and are calling for more workers and financial aid. For this service our own missionaries will also soon be returning to Korea, and we must be prepared to give large support to their ministering hands.

Such aid will be especially needed among our Korean churches and Christians. What their condition is now, we do not know. Some may have tried to take themselves and their families out of the direct course of the military advance. But where would they go to escape from it completely? In fact, we must acknowledge that there was nothing for most of them to do but to await the coming of the invader and then make the best of it. When asked what his father, our Korean Methodist Bishop, might have done in the face of the advancing communist armies, John C. S. Kim who is a Crusade scholar now in this country, replied: "He will stay in Seoul and help hold things steady for the Christian church. He has never run away from difficulty."

For the time being, all we can do for the Korean Christians is to pray and to work for their early release from the restraints we know they are suffering. We may be sure, of course, that all that has gone into creating the indigenous Korean church will now be tested as never before. Yet we have good reason to believe that it will stand that test, and not only serve as a bulwark of moral power and spiritual hope in the present crisis but emerge strengthened and purified for leadership in the days of reconstruction that lie ahead.

Finally, a word about those six valiant spirits who were marooned in Songdo that fierce night in June and have not been heard from since. Somehow, I cannot believe they will drift beyond God's love and care! Certainly there is not a shred of evidence that they have met with violence. Moreover, when word was received through Vatican contacts of the safety of Bishop Byrne and Father Booth, two Catholics who had stayed with "diplomatic immunity" in Seoul, my hopes arose for the welfare of our own Methodist workers. For, if there is that much honor and respect for the Roman Catholic tradition among the North Koreans, there should be no less for the Protestant missionary movement which has served Korea so well through her long struggle for independence and integrity.

To be sure, we at the Board have been leaving no stone unturned to get some word about those intrepid prisoners. On Friday of last week, a message came from Geneva saying that a representative of the International Red Cross was going into North Korea and had with him among those to be sought the names of our missionaries.

With all these things and these loved ones in mind, let us now pray, not that our own hopes and plans may be realized, but that God's great and loving will may be done, and that we may have some share in its accomplishment. This is the sincere purpose and supplication of those who serve Christ and the Church at your Board of Missions, and we crave the prayers and support of all who are of like spirit. At the same time, we desire to be of all possible service to those who may need help in any of these relationships.

Ever Sincerely yours,

Thoburn T. Brumbaugh Associate Secretary

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# 원조정원서

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(1) 明在宁访(林至州公)

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(2) 州晋牙奔

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가 수용소에 거주지 않는 장우에는 5일보여 배급함 나 수용소에 거주하는 가건에는 지방형편과 재전형편대로 15일본 이상 비급함

2、水料水

7 号外、 仓里한 号사부인、 어전도사 전도사의 기족(元인 科리 전도사 사 号外、 仓里한 号사부인、 어전도사 전도사의 기족(元인 科의 해 ) 신학생도 포함한 무 있으나 군인 정령자는 제외해

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(1) 明百千弦(林至州处)

1 48

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(불구자는 연당의 제한이 없음)

2. 회목

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(2) 出音开奔

1 收付

나 수용소에 거주하는 가장에는 지방하던과 재정하면 대로 15일본 이상 배급함

2. 本村外

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나 교회에서 회사한후 /년이상된 자는 배달에서 제외하

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4. 程方部工 台門 以上 사람은 직업을 갓도록 권민하고 직업을 가진 자는 원조

5. 对 千多全 神智자는 明월 不同党 응지에 의하야 재정보고를 선교부화게 에게 지查하더야 하더 새로리 원조를 청구할 때에도 제정한 용지로 선교부회 게 에게 청구함

(1) 明百宁访(苏至州也)

1 48

外 3音 541至17州水14 60州이상된사람

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가 400원 5인이상의 자족을 가진가정

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다 200원 독신으로 있는 가정

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나 수용소에 거주하는 가장에는 기방형편과 재정형편 대로 15 발분 이상 배급함

2. 对对外

가 목사、 仓亚한 목사부인、 어컨도사 건도사의 가족(한민 권리 전도사) 신화생도 포함한수 있으나 군인 정령자는 레이라

4 एम्याम सेयरें । सिग्ठिस यह भादनाम सामित

다 신학생은 그 학교 책임자의 인정을 오려

3. 对学에서 出行管 라는 경우에는 그분량을 본 배度양에서 제站

4. 건강하고 능력 있는 사람은 직업을 갓도록 권면하고 직업을 가진 자는 원조 어머 제외함

5、 对 全部企 神路자는 明是 和对社会对 의 의 하야 재정보고를 선교부회에 에게 지查하여야 하더 새로리 원조를 청구한 때에도 제정한 용지로 선교부회 게 에게 청구하

ca tactics are un will be initiated on beha. the Federal Government rather nan being delegated to West Berlin alone, Mayor Reuter hopes.

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South Korean House Loss Set Hou PUSAN, Korea, Sept. 4 (P) Pfc. War has destroyed at least 600,000 ton, houses in South Korea, a Govern- visior se ment spokesman said today. le is an average of more than 1,300 tired This Schri ie a day. Huh Chung, Social Affairs every Minister, said a five-year rebuild- Gov ing program called for construction an of 88,000 dwellings next year. mar

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present condition Is it case to stay there?

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